/59 cont./

595 From this list of families one gains the impression that monogamy predominates. But I was assured by my informants that those warriors who thus far have only one wife would be glad to take a second or even a third one, as was customary among their forefathers. The small number of persons in the tribes, however, has caused a shortage of women, so that most of the men are forced to be content with one spouse.

/60/ 3. Political Structure

619 These low population figures could, moreover, arouse the suspicion that it is not tribes, but only tribal divisions that are involved here, especially on account of the connubium in which they live, or merely groups. The chiefs and war chiefs named, however, told me emphatically that the Surára as well as the Pakidái were formerly large and mighty and distributed in many malokas. [185] They regard achieving this size again as a goal worth striving for.

622 An institutional chiefdom with a definitely established succession prevails in both tribes. If the chief dies, his next younger brother automatically takes his place. Only if the youngest brother is dead may the first-born son of the oldest brother, who by that time is usually an older man, occupy the office of chief.

624 701 In addition there is the war chief. This position is not hereditary; rather, the bravest warrior is chosen for it. During peacetimes he has no prerogatives whatever and lives like an ordinary member of the tribe. Only during military encounters does he take over the [622] leadership, while the real chief, as religious head, doctor, and teacher, is protected and does not take part; the same is true for his brothers.

622 159 The Surára chief Hewemão, very bold and intelligent, is a truly great personality; his orders are respected by all members of the tribe without opposition. When he was still a youth, his father, Xoromão, was killed with two arrow shots by Makuxí /Macusi/ Indians. Hewemão eldest brother, Xaraíma, assumed the succession, but he died of a fever about eight years ago.

/60 cont./

622 Since that time Hewemão has been chief and at the same time,
●159 like his predecessor, a medicine man who instructs all the male Surára in religion, mythology, magic, curing the sick, and tribal traditions (see pp. 143f.). He also, however, assigns them to occasional communal projects, supervises their activity in the roças (forest clearings), gives instructions for the building of a maloka, and selects the participants for curing the sick and for magic per-
[224] formances. If a large animal was killed, a tapir, for example, he supervised the fair distribution of the meat so that every family obtained its piece. In the case of smaller game, the hunters usually give their chief a choice piece, and the women bring him and his family fruits and berries or brimming calabashes
[554] of refreshing palm drinks. He is thus honored in every way. He and his wives too, however, willingly and freely give up some of their hunting or gathering spoils.

[342] In the large, open maloka he and his two wives and children occupy a special hut (see pp. 24 ff.). During migrations of
622 the tribe he determines when they are to rest and to set out again.
484 Moreover, each morning he arranges for regular march-protection,
159 4-5 warriors who form the advance guard and set out two hours
484 before the departure. They have only their bows and arrows with them and reconnoiter in both directions from the Indian path, in order to be on the lookout for enemies. The bulk of the tribe, which travels in single-file formation, always presented the following picture during the time I lived among the Surára: 3-4
484 warriors armed only with bows and arrows. They carry their
482 weapons longitudinally over their heads or over one shoulder. After them came men with my baggage, the younger brothers of the chief, and finally the latter himself. I walked behind him, my servant Mateus followed me, and the boys and girls with little baskets, then the women with their large, cylindrical baskets, which contain all the household goods. Mothers with babies carried them, in addition, in a carrying band on their left hips. On top of the basket there often sat a little dog, a monkey, or a parrot. Then behind the women there marched 4-5 more warriors as a rear guard.

/68 cont./

835 Younger, unmarried brothers have the right to unite physically with the wives of their older brothers. Nevertheless the jealousy of the latter often prevents the realization, which, however, is made up for on a suitable occasion, for the women are altogether in favor of this custom (331).

331. This polyandrous feature is also found in the myth about the origin of human beings (see p. 247 ).

727 Among the Surára I found a pretty, delicate girl about
83 15 or 16 years old, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the
●159 Karauateri (Ills. 17 and 18), who was held as a captive and was the common property of all the men, the unmarried as well as the married. When her maloka was raided, she fell into the hands of the Surára. She lived with the old widow Xututumí and her daughter Haikiamá, likewise widowed. During the day she occasionally took care of little children, deloused the wives of the chiefs, grated manioc or squeezed out the grated mass; she also strung beads or made a belt. When it grew dark, she always fetched wood for the night, just like the other female members of the tribe. She was the only woman who took a bath several times a day and played childish games with other small girls. Now and then she also went into the forest with other women to gather fruits. I never saw her inactive. When she works, however, she does so of her own free will. Yet at the same time she must always be ready for all the men, at any hour of the day or night. A man scarcely ever comes alone, but rather four, five, or more usually join him. They do not ask whether she has any desire for it, is sleeping, working, or is perhaps ill. One of them seizes her by the arm or the hair and sets out with her into /69/ the forest, and the others follow. Especially if the men have communal tasks to do in the forest, that is, felling trees for house construction, gathering palm leaves and lianas, Nikeromá is regularly taken along, whether or not she is willing. If she resists or raises objections, one of the men, with a big stick, will

/69 cont./

727 give her a blow on her tonsure, which is already full of scars, or
83 he will scratch her body bloody with the sharp little cutia-tooth
● 159 knife (see p. 117).

It is worth noting that the married men do not go furtively into the forest with Nikeromá, but quite openly. When I was wandering about with the tribe, I was often able to observe during the midday rest that a married man would suddenly go up to the little captive, take her by the arm, and go off with her a short distance, while five or six other men followed. The others present, men, women, and children, would laugh about it. The
[593] wives, to be sure, were somewhat angry and would now and then throw a piece of wood after their husbands, but then they would make the best of it and likewise join in the laughter, though it was somewhat bittersweet. When the men returned with Nikeromá, after about an hour, we resumed our march. The women put up with this behavior of their spouses and, for their part, enjoy themselves with other men at a suitable opportunity. They never vent their wrath on the little captive, however. There is nothing defamatory about her actions, into which she is, of course, forced, for various wives were obliged to submit in the same way before their marriage. Little Nikeromá, however, found it hard to bear her fate; she was always grave and sad, in fact, almost melancholy, and suffered very much from homesickness. Yet one day, when other women and girls are captured from a hostile tribe, a Surára man will marry her.

It should be mentioned further that the Surára chief rigorously sees to it that Nikeromá is always supplied with plenty of meat and other food. He himself and his brothers treat the little captive very well, and I never saw them go into the forest with her.

The Pakidái had two captive Makuxí women.

727 In this connection I should like to refer to a very similar
83 observation by Ehrenreich with regard to the Šambioa /Shambioa/
171 (Karajá /Caraja/), which the investigator describes as follows:
"Moreover, unmarried men who wish to turn to the female sex may only have intercourse with the captive Kayapo /Cayapo/ women held in semislavery, a few of whom, at least among the Šambioa,

/118 cont./

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563. (cont.)
Steinen about the Suya on the Xingú, in which he declares that these Indians knew how to use the pencil very well and drew beautiful motifs in his notebook, although he was the first white man they had seen (Karl von den Steinen, 1886, p. 212).

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Younger people are distinguished by a gift for rapid comprehension and an astonishing learning capacity. Although these Indians very rarely come in contact with caboclos, and in most cases only the men, both sexes have at their command a rather large store of Portuguese words and figures of speech. One little
124 Surára boy about nine years old, Jubeauwõ, also called Mandú,
● 159 who had spent almost two years in the hut of the palm-fiber
[191] gatherer Manuel Antonio Gómez on the Rio Aracá, had a nearly perfect command of the Portuguese language and performed unique service as my interpreter. I owe it to him alone that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the mental culture of the Surára and Pakidái and put together a complete vocabulary (564).

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564. Three years ago the little boy suffered dangerous burns on the abdomen by an upset vessel containing boiling tree resin. Since the chief had given up hope that he would recover, he wanted to have
[888] him given the deathblow. The custom of this tribe, as well as that of the Pakidái, decrees that all old and seriously ill persons who are no longer able to take part in the general migrations must be killed (see pp. 153/154). The grandmother of the little boy, who is an orphan took him secretly one night to the hut of the Spanish palm-fiber gatherer,

Surára
Pakidái

/118 cont./

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734
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564. (cont.)
Manoel Antonio Gómez, who succeeded in saving his life. The chief was said to have been very angry at first over the arbitrary action of the grandmother, but then, when he saw that the little one had recovered, he calmed down.

123 Most men, after but a short time, had no difficulty handling
153 our two guns; a few were soon even operating the outboard
[177] motor, and the Surára chief Hewemão, who showed great interest in my camera, took very acceptable pictures with it.
153 The reasoning power seems to be somewhat more strongly developed among the men than among the women (565).

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565. This conclusion agrees with an observation by Baldus among the Tumerehã, and the scholar adds a remark which could also be applied to the Surára and Pakidái: "The differences in the talents of the sexes are perhaps the result of their way of life and division of labor. Thus, among the Tumerehã, the man's way of acquiring food has probably developed his acuteness, for he does not merely gather fruits, like the woman, but also goes hunting..." (Baldus, 1931, p. 119).

802 /119/ XII. Counting and Conception of Time

The Surára and Pakidái count only to three:

1 -- mahón

2 -- porokabõ

3 -- prukatabõ.

/219 cont./

588 Marriages which oppose the bilateral extension of the law of incest are criticized and are prohibited, and anyone who contravenes this law is automatically placed outside society.

589 993 Unmarried men are few, and, they say, only the priest practices celibacy.

165 The number of persons of advanced age is very small among the Sanemá. Among the Nabudub we saw only one old man.

753 In the majority of cases, sickness has a magical cause and the theurgists attempt to cure those who are within their field of action. We did not penetrate into this intimate sphere of Sanemá culture and the little that we heard is set forth in the section which deals with religious and magical aspects of these Indians.

764 We were not present at any funeral among the Sanemá, 159 but our young informant of the upper Erebato told us in great detail about the death of his father.

159 He had gone out to the forest. There he had found an eagle. 753 As eagles are men, they may only be killed if they are enemies 825 of one's pueblo. The father asked the eagle whether he was a 763 Waica or a Sanemá, and, when it answered that it was a Waica, the Sanemá man killed it with his arrow. Naturally he observed all the taboos that are obligatory for a hunter who kills an eagle. A few days later he became sick. He had a very high fever and remembered that when he picked up the eagle he got the impression that it was feverish, and, as birds of prey are often sent by a theurgist of neighboring enemies in order to kill the people, that explained everything. There was no reason to look for any other cause, the diagnosis was clear, the eagle had transmitted its sickness to the hunter. He became worse as the days went by and /220/ finally died; but he had first explained to the members of his family the cause of his sickness and the reason for 159 his certain death.

764 Immediately after the death, the whole family burst into tears and began to shout; meanwhile several men went in search of the material necessary for raising the corpse. For this there is needed a quantity of stakes and leaves with which a sort of cylindrical coffin is made, and, after the dead person is placed

/220 cont./

159 764 inside, it is tied with lianas. Then they take the corpse into the forest where it is deposited, at a distance of some kilometers, on the branches of a tree in order for the flesh to decompose there. Often the members of the family will not leave the corpse alone in the forest for fear that animals will come and [775] devour it. The dead are very much afraid of animals and shout when a jaguar approaches them.

[825] The feline respects only a dead sablf, because he will die [756] in turn if he approaches.

Our informant spent several nights next to his father's [784] corpse, always being very careful not to step on the damp ground beneath the dead man, because those who step there lose their feet.

152 764 The grief of the relatives is so intense that very often some of them can not endure the pain and go to the forest to die. Above all the women lament a great deal during the night and the men hold them back so that they will not run away to the forest. The informant remembered that the strongest man of his tribe behaved as though he were mad after the death of his father and wanted to kill everybody. The men did not allow him to go with them into the forest to gather up the bones of his father for fear that, given his behavior, he might commit some crime.

765 After one month, more or less, the men of the tribe go to the forest and gather up the bones of their companion; the flesh decomposes completely during this period. Some of the men let down the coffin and others wrap the remains of the deceased in some large leaves, making in this way a bundle of bones which they take back with them to the rancheria. There they place it in a hammock and leave it for about four days, while the relatives continue to weep in uninterrupted lamentation.

765 775 [756] Later the sablf carries the bones to a fire prepared in the plaza and places them on top of the pile of firewood. Our informant also said that as the sablf did this he pronounced a well-known formula which means: "you are getting along well," for, if he did not say this, the hĩkula would not be able to find its way. Afterwards he lights the fire, blows upon it at the same time as he raises his arms /221/ above his head, and in the smoke

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Ma Kiri'tare SS20



Had Luis Antonio been wearing clothes, we should have pronounced him very well turned out, for he looked dark and perfectly groomed in his nudity, which was enhanced in very smart fashion by a loincloth of fiery red and a ruffle of white feathers on his right arm. In addition to his name and his knowledge of Spanish there was one other thing about him that suggested that his story might not be quite the usual one: his rotten teeth. All the Indian peoples have teeth that are very strong and brilliantly white. They are used to hard exertions on the meat the savage eats, while his fruits provide the necessary minerals, and keep their strength and colour well into old age. Luis Antonio was an exception—his teeth were no longer good: there was a long history to them, and we soon got to know it.

Uarema—Uarma, Ualema, Uadma, or Uadema were alternative forms, all very close in the Shirian pronunciation—had been a Guayca boy from the Uagna tribe. They were real warriors, forever at war with the Samatari on the other side of the cordillera. Battles were a regular feature of tribal life. When the arsenal of long-range weapons had been exhausted the armies would come to grips with clubs and sticks. During one such engagement the young Uarema disappeared into the forest and, finding himself lost, stayed all alone on the bank of the Merevari, living on fruit and worms. At the time he was probably no more than four or five years old, but the Guayca Indians are savages among the savages, and four or five is old enough for a boy to know what is good to eat in the forest and what isn't; where to find it; and how to catch it. While he was all by himself on a beach, getting a few little fish by striking at them with a stick, a Makiritari party came along, found him there, and took him with them. They were going down the Caura to sell canoes to the people on the rubber plantations at Maripa (which is almost on the Orinoco). The child, travelling with them, soon accustomed himself to their language and their Cassava bread.

At Maripa, one Martin Viudo, a rubber man who knew Guiana like the palm of his hand, saw the boy and prodded him as you would prod a spring chicken or a sucking-pig in a shop.

'A fine boy this,' he declared. 'But wicked. Wicked and obstinate, like all

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema



● 159
177 his tribe. You can see it in his eyes. . . .' Uarema kept them down all the time . . . 'but I want to keep him here. He'll be the first Shirian to go to school, and if he doesn't go, he'll be the first to get his bottom kicked by a civilized boot.'

Uarema stayed behind, while the Makiritari went back with an extra few yards of the good old red cloth.

Martin Viudo was a collector—of human beings. Around him, like one big family, lived Indians of every race: Taurepàn from the Gran Sabana, Arekuna from the Caroni, Makiritari from the Caura, Piaroa from the Orinoco, Cuiba from the Guaviare lands and finally one Bare from Rio Negro. The only one he hadn't got was a Shirian—the prize monster of the whole Indian scene. And now he'd found him too!

He began by calling him Luis Antonio, after a friend of his who had died of fever on the Atabapo. He clothed him and entrusted him to Donna Josefa, the village schoolma'm. At school the boys called him a cannibal, and he hit out at them whenever he could, as 'his wicked instincts' prompted him. At any rate, that was Donna Josefa's opinion: she couldn't stand the little savage. Very soon, he started to play truant from that narrow world bounded by the alphabet and the primer with its abstruse explanations of the catechism—A for Adam, B for Bible, C for Christ and so on. It was all beyond his understanding, and one day he hit the schoolmistress and went back to his home, where the wife of Martin Viudo promptly hit him. Having cried off school, Luis Antonio went to work for his adopted father. He was growing fast now, and strong enough to paddle and steer boat-loads of balata and zarape through the Caura estuary. He soon learned to handle a motor too; on Sundays he would go off to Maripa and get drunk, begging tots of white rum off the peons who were merry enough to regale him freely. 'Drink up, Man-Eater, and then go back to your cannibals and spit in their faces!' they would shout. Then with a laugh they would pour him whole glasses of brandy. By the time he was twenty his teeth were rotting away with alcohol and iced drinks—and he couldn't stand civilization any longer.

159 No one knows why or how, least of all himself—but something called him back to the forest under the rocky cordillera which had nurtured the young child. He saw his chance when a boat-load of Makiritari put in at Maripa, and returned with them to the Merevari, where he had no difficulty in getting in touch with his own people—for in intervals between battles they explored the Merevari, the Curutu and all the streams rising on the Uana-Coco watershed.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema



'I am Uarema,' he declared to his Guayca kinsmen, who looked on him with hostile eyes because he was wearing trousers, 'Uarema, son of Measi. I was here as a boy. A long time I have been with "the rationals" [the civilized men] and I have grown to manhood. You are my people.'

His turning up in this fashion had a touch of the fabulous about it, and his kinsmen took him along without ill-treating him. When they found him to be a man of many accomplishments, and the old men remembered how he had disappeared during Uagna's time, after an encounter with the Samatari from the Aracosa lands, they kept him with them as their rightful chief, giving him unlimited freedom of action. As his obedient subjects they left it all to him.

Uarema had never taken to civilization. For him, it had lacked something. What it had lacked, we cannot guess: the civilization of the Lower Guiana rivers may be bounded by the cloth hammock and the bottle of rum, the loose woman and the pack of cards, but it cannot be ranked any lower than the barbarianism of the Guayca, eaters of worms and snakes. But now, after his experience of life with 'the rationals', neither could the young man endure the ceaseless warfare which engaged his own peoples. The broken heads he saw round the fire in the evenings, the howls of the medicine-men at their exorcisings—all this was anathema to him. He told his kinsfolk they had better put it all aside, and grow something. From the Soto they could obtain seeds and roots. Much manioc was needed, because without it one was always hungry. Sugarcane was a pleasant thing to suck at any time, and the children loved it. Above all, there must be bananas, as far as eye could see—the forest must be transformed into a huge garden of fruits, there for the picking. Thus, with his head full of ideas which owed their origin to the years he had spent in civilization, Luis Antonio founded a new Guayca people. They were Guayca Indians no longer, but peasants—peasants who cared for the tilling of the soil and a sure supply of food. These Guayca called themselves after him, Uarema. They inhabited two big homesteads an hour distant from the Merevari river—a little above the mouth of the Canaracuni.

Now Luis Antonio wanted to stay with us and work, because he needed cloth for his people. We gave him what little we had been able to save from the greedy hands of Pancho's men, and he went off for a brief visit to his tribe, intending to return to Kirisochi in four days' time.

| | Name of Individual | Patrilineage | Sex | Age | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 32. | Monomi's Da. | Tom | F | 0.2 | |
| 33. | Makakasi | Sha | F | 56 | |
| 34. | Miaiyowë | Sha | M | 14 | |
| 35. | Omonoiwë | Tom | M | 28 | |
| 36. | Keromawë | Sha | M | 53 | Headman |
| 37. | Kosa | Sha | F | 8 | |
| 38. | Ruwisa | Tom | F | 7 | |
| 39. | Shiborowë | Shamatari | M | 35 | See p. 214 |
| 40. | Tiaböwë | Shamatari | M | 5 | See p. 214 |
| 41. | Tomahewë | Tom | M | 21 | |
| 42. | Tomasi | Tom | M | 6 | |
| 43. | Ughshi | Hor | M | 22 | |
| 44. | Waiimi | Hor | F | 21 | |
| 45. | Waiyamobemi | Shamatari | F | 19 | Alliance |
| 46. | Waiyamobemi's son | Sha | M | 0.5 | |
| 47. | Waiyuruma | Shamatari | F | 50 | Abducted |
| 48. | Wakarabewë | Shamatari | M | 16 | Son-in-law to #6 |
| 49. | Yäbinima | Kio | F | 33 | |
| 50. | Yareama | Shamatari | F | 2 | See p. 214 |
| 51. | Yotoma | Tom | F | 24 | |

Comments on particular individuals

1. Ahimi. Her present husband (Bokosiwë) visited the Patanowë-tedi within the past 5 years. Ahimi then lived in Patanowë-tedi and was married to a Sha man there (Makoakuwë), by whom she had already had one daughter (Huimashima). When Bokosiwë returned to Bisaasi-tedi, Ahimi followed him, taking her daughter with her, and became Bokosiwë's wife. As the Patanowë-tedi were technically at war with the Bisaasi-tedi, there was not much they could do to recover the woman. As they also wanted to make peace with Bisaasi-tedi, they did not press the matter.

000 11. Didihoma. See #28, Manasinawä, below.

159 583 583 621 578 12. Dimörama. This girl was abducted from a distant Shamatari village (Kohoroshi-tedi, probably in Brazil, on the Upper Cauabury River) by the Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mömariböwei-tedi. Her husband--the man to whom she was given after being abducted--shot her in the stomach with a barbed arrow, wounding her gravely (see Shiborowä, below). The man was forced to flee from the village and take refuge in Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as other men in the village planned to use this incident as an excuse to take his wives from him. In late 1965 a party of men from Lower Bisaasi-tedi, including Shiborowä, set off for Mömariböwei-tedi to 'visit.' I accompanied them on their invitation. They were going to Mömariböwei-tedi to take Dimörama away from her protectors by force, if necessary, and asked me to come along knowing that I always travelled with a gun, presuming that my presence, with a gun, would aid in their objective. The girl was very nearly dead when we arrived (four months had passed since she was shot, and the wound was badly inflected). As the Bisaasi-tedi were one of the only allies of the Mömariböwei-tedi, they gave up the girl without much argument, since she would have died anyway. (The New Tribes Missionaries took the girl to the Territorial Capital by canoe for surgery in January 1966. She recovered from the wound and is presently living in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.)

159 583 583 628 721 21. Kakoma. This is one of the seven women abducted from the Patanowä-tedi in late 1964 by the Monoa-tedi. She was taken from her Monou-tedi husband by force by the Lower Bisaasi-tedi and given to Kaobauwä, one of the village bachelors.

000 23. Katabema. See Shiborowä, below.

000 26. Mamorakomi. See Shiborowä, below.

159 28. Manasinawä. This man is originally from Hasaböwä-tedi,
593 but he moved to Bisaasi-tedi around 1940-45, along with
586 a brother, a wife, and a daughter. His wife deserted
589 him in Bisaasi-tedi, fleeing to Shibariwä-tedi. After
*628 the treacherous feast of 1950-51, in which Manasinawä's
brother was killed, he was given Hikarima, one of the
widows of that incident. He had one daughter by this
woman (Didihoma, above); she is promised to Bokosiwä.
His other daughter, by his first wife, is married to
Kaobäwä, headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Manasinawä's
(921) father was killed by Husiwä of Patanowä-tedi, so he
joined the Bisaasi-tedi to take revenge on the Patanowä-
tedi, as the two villages were at war then.

159 39. Shiborowä. He fled from his native village, Mömariböwei-
593 tedi, to avoid a fight and the possible loss of his
*621 wives. He shot one of his wives in a fit of rage
*628 (Dimörama, above), and his rivals took the girl away
from him. To avoid a fight in which he had no supporters,
he fled to Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as he had given one of his
daughters (Monomi) to a man in that village. He brought
his second wife (Mamorakomi) and his three juvenile
children with him (Tiaböwä, Yareama, and Katabema). The
Lower Bisaasi-tedi welcomed him, as he had two daughters
to claim as wives; they assisted him in recovering his
second wife.

000 40. Tiaböwä. See Shiborowä, above.

50. Yareama. See Shiborowä, above.